

On pluralism, inclusion, and musical citizenship¹

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ABSTRACT

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In an age of international wealth insecurity, countries around the world are putting increasing pressure on public schools to prepare young people to compete in the new global marketplace. Using quantifiable measures as indicators of societal well-being, a kind of PISA panic has resulted, in which discourses of crisis have replaced long held beliefs about the purpose of education and public schooling. In this climate, we have forgotten the language we once used that linked education to values broader and richer than economic competitiveness alone. What if educators reconnected the idea of public schooling to citizenship and personal well-being? Music education is particularly well-suited to cultivate citizenship, defined in this article as a cooperative engagement between teachers and students, where sites of learning are communal, public-spirited, experimental, historically engaged, socially responsible, multicultural, and forward-looking. Using philosophical method to examine a notion of musical citizenship, the author shares a series of observations and analyses that link this call to conflicting facets of multicultural life in North America and Northern Europe. James Bank's conception of multicultural education may serve as a guide to the difficult, painful, but mutually enriching process of reconnecting education, especially music education, to citizenship and the public good.

Keywords: multicultural music education, citizenship, inclusion, democracy

The United States is obsessed with PISA scores. They are almost guaranteed to appear in any presentation to teachers, school administrators, policymakers, or those who influence educational policy. U.S. educators are expected to be appalled and terrified when we see them, and then driven to work that much harder: the scores tell us that we are failing our children, and that the United States' place at the forefront of the world economy will soon be lost if schools do not improve. Nordic countries do well on PISA scores, with Finland leading the pack and most other Nordic countries achieving scores that are higher than the U.S. average (see Figures 1 & 2; OECD 2004:57, OECD 2007:58). Nordic children, U.S. teachers are told, are ready for the challenges of the 21st century. They are ready to compete in the global marketplace. They are ready to take jobs from U.S. citizens and to make scientific innovations that will rocket their infrastructure forward.

But PISA winner or PISA loser, there is something quite sad about this vision of schooling and citizenship, and its by-products are even sadder. And while few readers of this journal would define citizenship so narrowly (through, say, our respective countries' love affairs with math and science and the attendant economic indicators that hover like so many cupids around its coupling), this framework appears to be all we've got (Slouka 2009). Indeed, we've forgotten the language we once used that linked citizenship to public schooling, citizenship to social virtue, citizenship to democracy. Instead of seeing schools as educational communities, we speak of stakeholders (UNESCO, US Department of Education 2009). But rarely do we ask, what's at stake? Researchers decide educational progress through "value added assessment," with nary an appraisal of the multiple and conflicting human values that determine progress in the first place (American Association of State Colleges and Universities 2006, Archibald 2006, Rothstein et al. 2008). The economic framing of citizenship has become the default language of public schooling, and this discourse is larger and more far-reaching than ever before.

This article is about citizenship and the ways we might be intentional about defining it in music education. Performing music, sharing music, composing music, learning and teaching it – music seems to invoke ideas of citizenship in its very engagement, in its profound ties to communal culture and the deeply personal ways it figures in the lives of each of us (Griggs 1936). Music carries some capacity to separate and bring together, and in doing so, its power charges us as *civic* educators, not simply music educators, to cultivate its engagement responsibility. I suggest that alongside national citizenship (Audigier 2000) and newer conceptions of global citizenship (Gaudelli & Fernekes 2004) there might be such a thing as *musical* citizenship, at least with regard to classroom communities. Musical citizenship and public schooling bring to mind a kind of cooperative engagement between teachers and students – a music education that is public-spirited, where learning is experimental, mutual, historically engaged, socially responsible, and forward-looking. I would also like to suggest that there are particular ways of educating that engage this conceptualization. I begin by exploring ideas central to the construction of musical citizenship and what this means in our globally-connected postmodern society, namely the tension between past values or traditions and openness to what is new and changing (Hansen 2008). No matter where we live, in Chicago or Copenhagen, the question of "what should a teacher teach?" persists in these tensions. The neoliberal arts education objective is to establish a new creative class that can outcompete and outcreate the low-wage high-human-capital communities in India and China. A vision that moves beyond this objective must ask a host of questions already hinted at. Those are: *What's at stake? What's at stake in this classroom? Who is being helped? Who is being served? Whose values are being explored and why? How does this classroom serve a larger civic good?*

Figure 1. PISA 2006 Science score rankings.

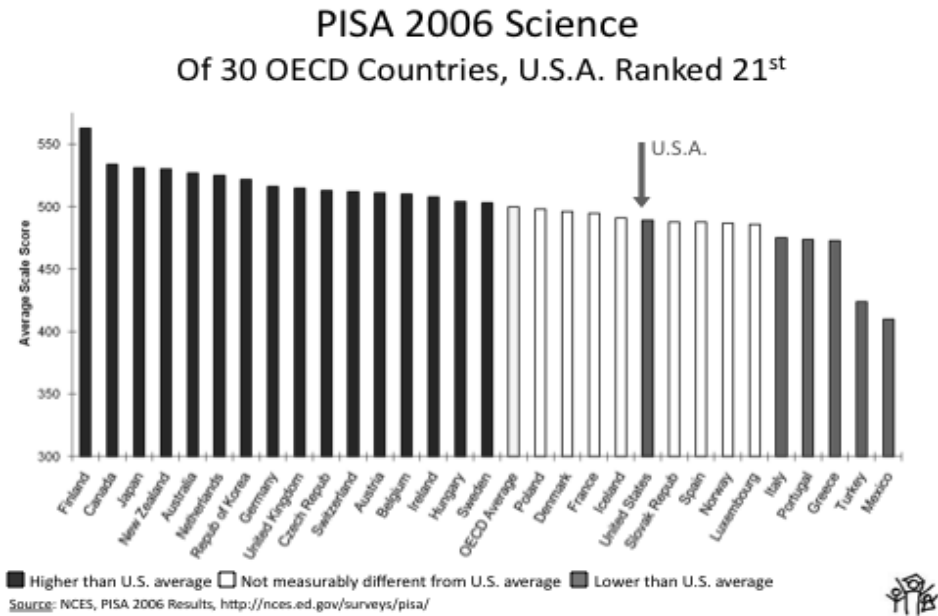
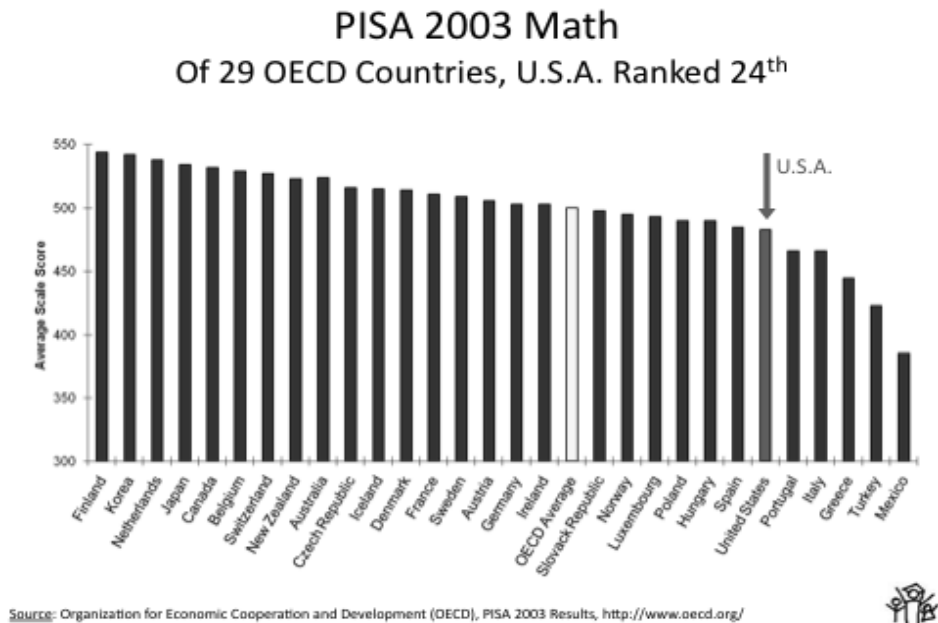


Figure 2. PISA 2006 Math score rankings.



The idea of citizenship evokes a sense of belonging, of membership in a community, a way of identifying in and with the world. But more than ever, the North American and Nordic music educator is confronted with the difficulties of just what this means, particularly in the context of pluralism's antinomies: its problems and its promises, its distance and contiguity, and the seemingly intractable conflict between tradition and change. Nordic welfare societies, founded upon equality and solidarity, are being challenged to adapt to a pan-national *ethos* that celebrates diversity, individuality, and cosmopolitan interchange all at once. Music classrooms are seen as ideal locations for the discovery and celebration of the so-called global/local identity (Folkestad 2006), though researchers Georgii-Hemming & Westvall (2010) have recently highlighted the limitations of this governing ideology. Divisions between the domestic and the international are increasingly difficult to distinguish, calling into conflict Europe's historic humanist values (Kuisma 2007:5). Confusion surrounds how we think about past and present. What, if anything, is owed to history? Whose history makes sense anymore? Can we make room for every citizen (Kivirauma, Klemela & Rinne 2006)? Can we tell every student's story? Whose story gets left out (Atarah 2008)? Who gets to tell *my* history (Arto 2003)? New membership inevitably changes the meaning of present membership – but how much change can occur before a community breaks down (Heinonen 2000)? There has never been more at stake. Here's where schools come in.

Once upon a time, the story of public education was the hapless, achingly beautiful quest to transmit the best of what went before us, while at the same time making the objects of our study a meaningful concern to the students in our care. Schools, in this vision, were in charge of citizenship-making. Responding to rapid change and uncertainty, they were expected to look backward as much as look forward. The challenge John Dewey asked of public education was this: "How shall the young become acquainted with the past in such a way that the acquaintance is a potent agent in appreciation of the living present?" (Dewey 1938:11). A rich and growing experience, located in the "living present," seemed the only measure by which a socially just curriculum could be judged. For those who cared about accomplishments from the past, a simple truth emerged: a tradition will die unless its new charges care enough to take ownership of it. For a community focused on a problem in the present, the past was investigated to deepen understandings of how the problem came about. New traditions were modified; old traditions were brought to life. In this dream of progressive education, each school, each classroom, and each curriculum looked and sounded different because each community adapted its teaching to match the unique values of its time and location. Each school dealt differently with challenges because no problem was ever identical to another (Allsup 2007).

Ideals, even dreams, should not be abandoned just because they have never been perfectly realized. I still believe in this vision, even if it becomes more and more difficult to enact or even imagine. I bring this up because there is an educational truth to this dream that is related to the topic at hand. For Dewey, the key to making students into citizens requires a focus, first and foremost, on experience. Not on standards, history, or handed-down books,

but on the educational *experience* – the needs and desires – of the growing child (1938:25-31). The key to making students into musical citizens requires a focus on musical *and* social experience. Notice, I did not say musical experience alone. But this focus on experience poses a number of intractable problems. For some teachers, asking them to locate learning in experience and meaning-making through the relative lens of student culture threatens the very history such a philosophy is alleged to bring alive. Too often, North American music teachers mistake inert history and inert tradition for living history, teaching the past as if its values pre-existed a student’s encounter with it. But a focus on desire alone, without connection to a public good, can be just as irresponsible. Finnish educators are famous for their commitment to popular culture and popular music, addressing the problem of relevancy that plagues North American music educators (Väkevä 2006, Westerlund 2006). But relevancy alone does not justify an educational practice. With some modification to Dewey, it deserves asking whether a commitment to popular music is an engaged interrogation with the past and present in such a way that the acquaintance is a potent agent for future living? All educators must speak to the question of growth: does experience in popular or historic music enlarge further experience, or is it a mirror that reflects backward?

When art is taught, the only thing that can be taught are things no longer needed – tricks already used, second-hand techniques and dead forms. [When] things get turned into books, they become doctrine. (Rautavaara 1998:150)

I like this quote by Rautavaara. Things become tradition very quickly. And when traditions meet public schooling, and learning takes the form of textbook instruction, any art form, no matter how fresh or new, has the shelf life of a three-day Baltic herring. Now, the great Finnish composer Rautavaara was probably talking about classical music in this quote, but his warning applies to popular music educators, as well. Nothing takes the fun out of *Smells Like Teen Spirit* like an 08:30 class, especially one that is taught by a teacher whose days as teenager are a distant memory. Dewey, of course, would argue that Rautavaara has it only half right. It is *because* all things from the past are effectively “dead on arrival” that teachers need to remake them, to revitalize them. This reconstruction is found in the nexus of individual experience – as connected to a community and its values and aims. What I take from Rautavaara is the warning that all things go from living to dead, and that when traditions become taken-for-granted, when they are a matter of commonsense to the teacher (and no one else), a doctrine replaces the energy they once had when living. Ideology replaces inquiry. This moves me to ask, does a false obviousness orbit around the new tradition of teaching popular music in Nordic schools in the same way it orbits around wind band music in Texas and Illinois?

Concerned with the ways in which cultures reproduce themselves silently, Pierre Bourdieu worried that certain habits of mind create beliefs so durable that they seem ridiculous to examine critically. These habituated beliefs are so widely shared that they appear natural or universal. Bourdieu (1977) writes:

Because the subjective necessity and self-evidence of the commonsense world are validated by the objective consensus on the sense of the world, what is essential *goes without saying because it comes without saying*: the tradition is silent, not least about itself as a tradition. (167)

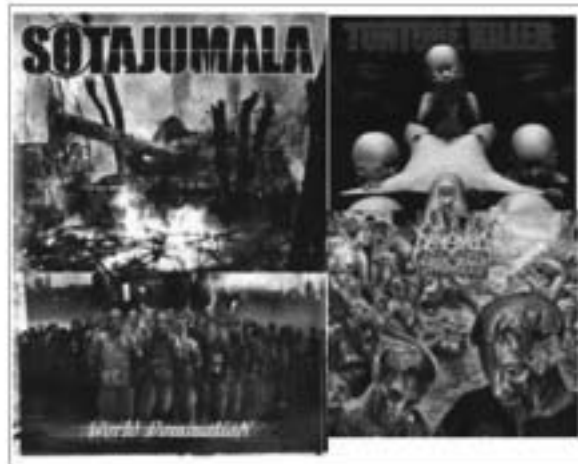
Silence or “*habitus*” is a “natural” partner to the obvious and self-evident. The problem that concerns Bourdieu is that there is nothing “natural” about a culture’s tradition. Although the sun will rise and the moon will set, the material events and activities that attend a teacher’s calendar are neither fixed nor freely occurring. Schools, music programs, and wind and rock bands are entirely humanly constructed. Yet, when asked to think critically about a topic that seems obvious or permanent, like whether youths should in point of fact study popular music, and with what purpose in mind? – or whether Vaughan Williams’ *Folk Song Suite* is a valuable musical encounter, and why? – notions of the “real world” are invoked to defend practices that seem as natural as the rising of the sun. When a situation is obvious, it validates itself. The more obvious and true the situation appears, the more difficult it is to imagine it differently.

The silent power of tradition and the habits of mind that protect the “real world” from scrutiny operate most efficaciously when there is, as Bourdieu reminds us, objective consensus or an agreement that takes the form of commonsense. This silent agreement usually occurs in homogeneous cultures whose longstanding practices seem objectively “normal.” It may take an outsider (or the mindset of an outsider) to help the custodians of a particular tradition see an experience differently. A Finnish observer, for example, uninitiated in the history and tradition of American marching bands, might wonder why these groups dress in military garb or why their members are often seen tossing rifles (Figure 3). To the uninitiated observer it may seem incumbent to ask whether these military symbols are incongruent with the public school’s civic mission, or even unnecessarily violent. Yet such an inquiry is sure to provoke confusion among marching band fans who are habituated to the customs of the genre. But an American might find the Finnish music teacher’s exploration of death metal equally incongruous with a school’s mission to promote nonviolence (Figure 4). This is not to suggest there are no explanations or even logical reasons for engaging in the traditions and practices of art forms that traffic in violent imagery, whether they are marching bands, heavy metal bands, or the *capoeira*. It is to suggest, however, that we become wide-awake to the world around us, to break through the obvious and look for questions. Do American marching bands serve a public good? Can they do this service responsibly? Can they fulfill their mission without reference to violence or the military?

Figure 3. The military symbolism in American marching bands



Figure 4. Heavy metal explored in Finnish schools



Can the powerful associations of death metal and apocalyptic violence be interrogated without draining the music of its life and energy? If death metal is an art form that cannot be drained of its violent imagery, what defense can an educator offer? Why is it important to teach? What curricular aims make this choice better than others? What *is* the public good of death metal? Recalling Rautavaara, these questions concern the rapid evolution of new traditions and the manner in which they become frozen from inquiry – from life. For the socially just music educator determined to examine the habits of her practice, what “goes without saying,” doesn’t mean “it comes without asking.”

Research on cultural practice often uses the term hegemony to describe the partite manner in which a cultural practice or tradition is maintained uncritically while at the same time winning the consent of the potentially disempowered voices for whom it speaks. Associated with the post-Marxist field of philosophy called “critical theory,” and specifically with Antonio Gramsci, hegemony is the idea that a prevailing custom, social order, or belief does not need the machinery of explicit state, political, or professional power to control the operations of its participants, even and especially if the said custom, social order, or belief actually works *against* the participants’ own interests (Gramsci 1975). When and how an oppressive belief or custom becomes “normalized” is rarely clear. The point is that no explicit coercion is necessary to control its exercises once a belief’s oppressive practices are made operational through convention or tradition.

What would an example of hegemony look like in schools in Northern Europe and North America? One example might be the exclusive representation of nonwhite musicians and nonwhite composers in curricula that deal with folk and popular traditions. African-American musicians are almost exclusively affiliated with various jazz and popular traditions (cf. Väkevä 2006:129.1), despite their unquestionable role in the development of a larger American music and classical music tradition (Baraka 2009). In this way, visibility and invisibility play out differently depending upon race and location. Take, for example, Finnish music education textbooks and the ways in which ethnicity figures to foreground certain stereotypical depictions of race, yet confers invisibility on favored races. Africans are usually represented as tribal people, poor but happy, infrequently pictured in clean clothing (Figure 5). Indians fare slightly better, but they are rarely seen as office workers – that brave face of low-wage-high-human-capital-creativity of the neoliberal media imagination. A spicy mysticism surrounds their world. White Europeans have options, though. Even the option of not shaving and wearing nose rings. White students can choose among a host of adolescent archetypes: post-punk, noncommercial girl group; skateboard dude; misunderstood good girl; saving-myself-for-marriage choir member; or Christmas angel (Figure 6). This would be funny if it weren’t at the same time potentially tragic.

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Figure 5. Africans portrayed in a Nordic music education textbook (Aittakupu, R., Lappalainen, E. & Suomela, M. (2005). *Vox Lukion Musiki I*. Painopaikka)

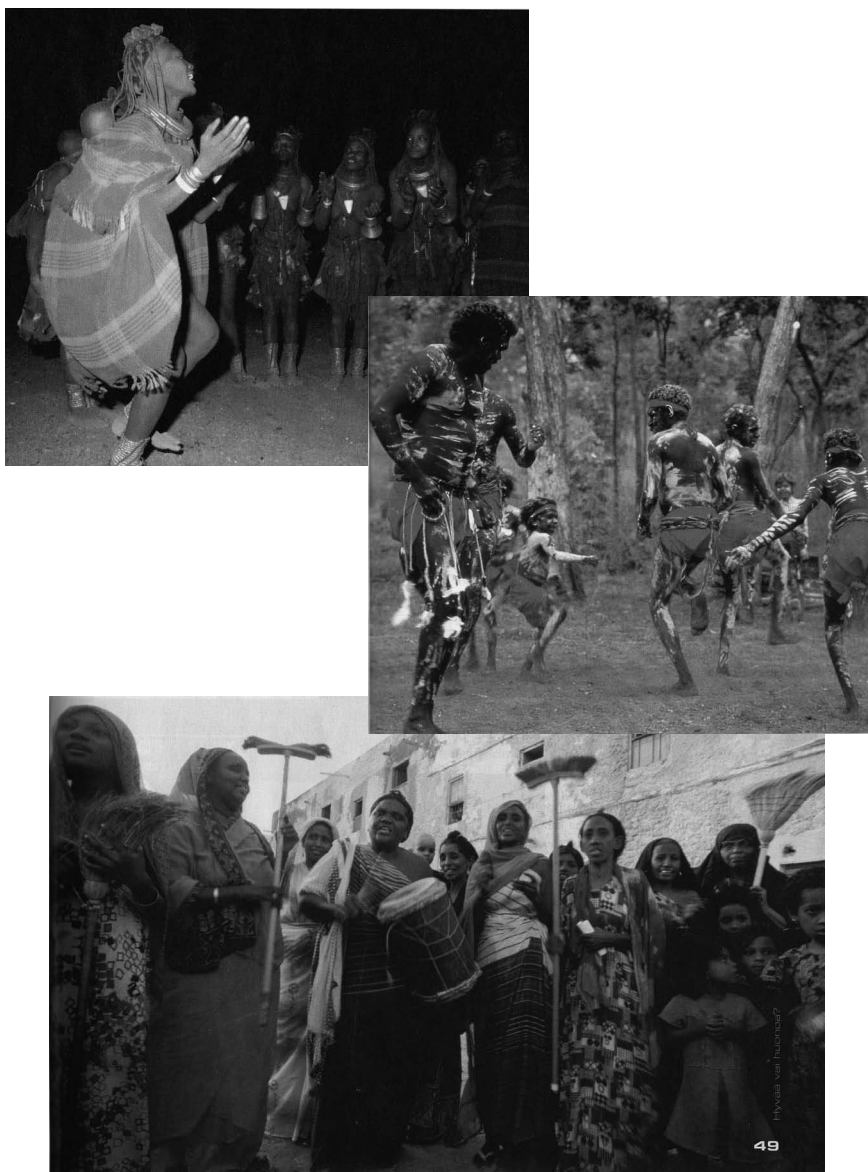


Figure 6. *The many white identities portrayed in Nordic textbooks* (Aittakupu, R. Lappalainen, E. & Suomela, M. (2005). *Vox Lukion Musiiki 1*. Painopaikka Otavan Kirjapaino Oy)



According to the rules of hegemony, the options available to white children are logical, silent, obvious, and normal. The options available to nonwhites are logical, silent, obvious, and normal, except that they are in actuality non-normal and very limited – we just don't see that (Frankenberg 1993, hooks 1990, 2000). In exploring the mystery of why middle class African-American students are statistically out-paced and out-performed by their middle class white-American peers, education researcher Pedro Noguera (2003) links problematic notions of black identity – notions of “black authenticity” and “acting white” – with the limited and non-normal media representations that are available to them in schools and in the media. Many young black American teens do not see, or cannot find, portrayals of black culture beyond those depicted by urban poverty. These kinds of exclusive representations seem “normal,” perhaps even beneficial in the absence of perceived “real world” alternatives. Simply put, black children do not enjoy the representational range of socio-cultural options that run on a continuum from nose rings on one end to Christmas angels on the other. When young white men, for example, dress grunge, they signify to the perceiving world an air of hipness and self-assured independence; when young black men dress grunge, they are mistaken for homeless.

I hope to show that citizenship involves resistance to the harm that can be inflicted by the unseen and normal, the illustrations I have shared argue for a sense of teacher self-vigilance, as well as the capacity, indeed courage, to subvert convention when warranted. Consequently, I fear that the majority of music teachers here and abroad may unintentionally demarcate the racial boundaries of who can participate in music and how. Let me remind you that this is a question of citizenship at its very deepest level. It is unsurprising, then, that despite a visible multicultural “movement,” racial minorities are drastically underrepresented at Schools of Music and conservatories across the Western hemisphere, in terms of both faculty and students; their “expertise” has been limited to insolated cultural genres, and simultaneously ones that are not well-esteemed (Butler et al. 2007).

The reader may find the scenario I outlined overly reductive or even biased. Others may resonate with its claims. The point is not to accuse teachers who continue to explore non-white music in the context of folk and popular traditions as miseducating or oppressing the students in their charge. Rather, it is to suggest, as Maxine Greene (1995) does in evoking author Virginia Wolf that “behind the cotton wool of daily life . . . is a token of some real thing behind appearances” (27). Habits, customs, and everyday routines obscure our attempts to see what lies beyond the obvious. To ask ourselves to consider that aspects of our lives fall victim to “*habitus*” or lay checked within a quietly controlling system is to break with simple appearances and name the world we teach in (Freire 2002:88).

How do we “see” beyond the appearances of the familiar world? How do we articulate the problems we find there? Estelle Jorgensen (2003) suggests dialectical analysis, the kind of Socratic irony practiced in Ancient Greece, and evidenced in disciplined philosophy. She forcefully posits that in order to counteract the power of habit and custom, an educator must adopt a healthy dose of “teacher skepticism,” the conviction “that there must be something wrong with the most cherished or plausible idea” (10). Like Greene, Jorgensen reminds us that ethical practice is *achieved*. Its exercise “is an act of respect for the efforts expended and achievements of one’s fellows, and a corrective to the tendency for unexamined assumptions to become dogma” (2003:10). The lack of surprise that defines dogmatic teaching, its unchanging adherence to a particular belief or custom, is the very antithesis of musical citizenship. The music educator must interrogate her practice, to ask if words like duty, routine, predictability, and tradition are safe realms from which to carefully design an *evolving* class curriculum or if such characteristics represent a *static* place, this state of disempowerment or silence. It serves all music educators to ask: when does tradition, like the cotton wool of custom, hide experience from examination?

Given our extensive training as music teachers, it is all too tempting to teach what we are good at, whether or not what we are good at reflects the needs and wishes of our students. Thankfully, our knowledge and the limitations of that knowledge are not commensurate with our agency as teachers, nor can prevailing ideology entirely delimit

the choices available to teachers. The music educator who believes in social justice is never held hostage to thoughtless custom. Since no art form exists apart from tradition, and no artist exists independent of past accomplishments, the challenge that faces music educators is not what to hand down, but *how*. Their challenge is the measure, quoting Dewey (1938) once again, through which “the young become acquainted with the past in such a way that the acquaintance is a potent agent in appreciation of the living present” (11). Teachers face the difficult task of claiming a tradition, making it come alive through student experience, and crafting a moral curriculum whose ends enlarge further experience.

Regretfully (and thankfully), tradition is not the only source of demands that a teacher must grapple with. Agreeing that the formative objectives of school and schooling are to provide students with the skills, values, and knowledge to tackle the unfolding historical conditions of their time, the great educational challenge of the twenty-first century is the problem and promise of pluralism. As mentioned earlier, it is school, perhaps more than any public institution invented, that is the primary site where the cultivation of the individual and the cultivation of the citizen occur in tandem. The pluralistic and rapidly changing nature of contemporary society deeply challenges this twofold directive. Teachers must attend to the flourishing of every child, but there is a collective struggle, too. Do we speak of a common community, or an expanding one? When we speak of the public good, do we speak of one thing or many? “Any object – a classroom, a neighborhood street, a field of flowers – shows itself differently to each spectator. The reality of that object arises out of the sum total of its appearances to all who view it” (Greene 1995:156). Greene, in this excerpt, recounts the beautiful dialectic of location and knowledge. We know the meaning of our world through our individual lens or location. But that meaning must be constructed with others, others who see what we see differently. The promise of pluralism is an expansion of meaning or knowing. The problem of pluralism is its promise – that the increasingly multiple vantages from which to name our world makes knowing any one thing contestable or open to revision. The manner in which educators debate these questions reveals a great deal about their hopes and fears. Tempted by unsophisticated or exaggerated arguments, we can choose to be afraid and defensive. Or, we can see that discussions about who we are as individuals and as citizens renew us and hold promise for a better future.

Because we no longer live in homogenous communities, we need to think about and debate what we mean by “multicultural education.” We might start by asking, why modify the word “education” with the adjective “multicultural”? Aren’t all children taught the facts of school regardless of the multiplicity of cultures from whence they come? If it sounds odd that there is a special kind of education called “multicultural education” that is distinct from plain or generic education, one needs reminding that there preexists precious

few neutral or universal concepts from which teachers can safely teach. For much of the twentieth-century, this neutrality hid what was the default educational paradigm of the United States: assimilation, also known by the rather violent metaphor of “the melting pot” (Olneck 2004, Tyack 1993). The idea of multicultural education developed in the 1960s as a calculated attack on the principles of assimilation and the practices through which “melting pot education” normalized the teaching of so-called native cultures [white, male, Anglo-American] over the beliefs, values, and practices of participating minority groups. Recognizing the gap that existed between the democratic ideals of the dominant culture and the social realities that silenced those students outside the margins, an ethnic revitalization movement emerged with roots in the African-American community and quickly spread to other communities of color, gender, and sexuality (Banks 1985). Black Americans, tired of their stories being told by other (if they were told at all) said, “Enough! I choose not to melt in your melting pot. I will be an American on my own terms: African-American.” While the hyphenations of American life may seem odd to Europeans – we have Asian-Americans, Mexican-Americans, Cuban-Americans, and whites now referred to as European-Americans – these hyphens represent achievements and refusals more than partialities or failures.

I wonder if Northern Europe, with its cultural roots in egalitarianism and solidarity, might be somehow mistaking multicultural engagement with assimilation. As Nordic countries face increasing immigration, and as hidden minority groups choose to break out of the social cohesion that is part of the Nordic national identity, the idea of everyone becoming the same is for outsiders another way of saying “let’s everyone become white, straight, secular Lutherans.” It is a hegemonic assumption to believe that all minorities aspire to middle class values, even a middle class lifestyle. This critique may be difficult and painful for Nordic people to bear because the impetus behind assimilation is one of welcoming: We are not going to be like xenophobic countries, hysterical places like France and the United States (*Ministère de l’immigration, de l’intégration, de l’identité nationale et du développement solidaire* 2009). We are going to help immigrants become Finnish citizens, and Swedish citizens, and Danish citizens, not partial or hyphenated citizens. We will include you in our curricula. We will tell your story, so that you feel liked. We will do things right and we will be matter-of-fact about it, a moral stance that the Finnish call “*asiallinen*.”

But there is pain on both sides of this issue. And this pain needs to be discussed. Here I would like to paint a picture for you that illustrates two-sided pain. Although my story concerns Finland, it is one that is occurring in every classroom, in every school, everywhere. In my rendering, a sixteen-year old Finnish boy is coming to terms with the fact that he is gay. He feels isolated. He feels hated by some, because he hears the terrible things people say about gay people. He feels invisible. Maybe there is no adult role model in his school to which he can turn for help. He looks through his music book one day and discovers a unit on disco music and homosexuality (Figure 7). There is a picture of what it means to be gay on the bottom of the page: four middle-aged white men dressed as women, one

dressed as a fairy. An explanation of gay anthems, this curricular unit tells him, means that homosexuals like and identify with Abba's *Dancing Queen*; Gloria Gaynor's *I Will Survive*; the Village People's *YMCA*; Judy Garland's *Somewhere Over the Rainbow*; and George Michael's paean to public sex, a song called *Outside*. Our Finnish boy's education also includes a vocabulary list – definitions of three words in English: camp, kitsch, and drag queen. If the young boy is a radical, he will resist this stereotyped and reductive vision of what it means to be gay and possibly he will begin to make trouble for the socially cohesive society that names his world for him. If he is not a radical, this may make him one. Or, depressed by a show of images that are not shared by his immediate community, he may slip further back into the safety of his closet, because at least there he is like every other Finnish boy.

Figure 7. Depiction of homosexuality in a Finnish music textbook (Aittakupu, R. Lappalainen, E., & Suomela, M. (2005). *Vox Lukion Musiikki 1*. Painopaikka Otavan Kirjapaino Oy)



This story is poignant because I applaud Finland's attempt to bring gays and lesbians into full citizenship, and I especially applaud Finland's courage in doing this through schools and formal music education. No music textbook anywhere in the United States would attempt

something so bold (Ravitch 2003) – or so wrong, I might add. Nonetheless, I doubt that this curricular unit was written by gay educators, or any educator for that matter who has an understanding of the problems that attend gay children when they wish to become full participants in a classroom community. I feel pain for the child for whom this curriculum has produced confusion and isolation. I feel pain for the good-hearted textbook publisher who made this failed attempt at inclusivity. But I cannot find a better example of the difficulties that attend the making of musical citizenship; and the reason we need more conversations, not less.

All efforts to construct and maintain multicultural education have as their ideal an end that leads toward democracy and citizenship (Gaudelli 2001). And while there are competing visions of multicultural education that range from radical to revolutionary, I offer one particular model by James Banks (2006) for consideration because its aims resonate with what I take to be important problems in North American and Northern European music education. These include music education's problem with tradition and the way in which tradition is integrated critically or not integrated critically into a learner's experience; the way in which musical texts or objects of instruction obscure what is really important (student experience); and our difficulty in integrating musical and historical pasts with present day concerns, our problem with change. Banks' five process domains of multicultural education, furthermore, are remarkably sensible, and their logic remind me of that pragmatic idealism I admire so much in my Finnish colleagues: this characteristic or sensibility of "*asiallinen*." Finally, I argue that Banks' model of multicultural education can be read as a reconstruction of the Nordic aim of assimilation – but assimilation as dialogical and change-orientated without a melting away of difference.

In Banks' conception of multicultural education, the contents of study (books, scores, aural artifacts, etc.) are understood as integrated with the active construction of multiple ways of knowing and problem finding. As such, this method is congruent with the Finnish and Scandinavian national curricula:

1. Content integration. This dimension deals with the manner in which teachers choose "examples and content from a variety of cultures or groups to illustrate key concepts, principles, generalizations, or theories."
2. Knowledge construction. This process concerns the methods teachers choose "to help students to understand, investigate, and determine how implicit cultural assumptions, frames of references, perspectives, and biases within a discipline influence the ways in which knowledge is constructed." Multiple ways of knowing are encouraged; knowledge is constructed within communities, rather than coming from the teacher.
3. Prejudice reduction. Teachers help students develop an open and inclusive attitude toward the unfamiliar, culminating in "more positive attitudes toward different racial and ethnic groups."

4. Equity pedagogy. “Teachers modify their teaching in ways that will facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse racial, cultural, ethnic, language, and gender groups.” Teachers adapt a wide range of teaching styles to reflect the diversity of their classroom.
5. Empowerment and school structure. All members of the teaching community work collaboratively to restructure and re-imagine the school as a space where students are empowered and treated with dignity. (Banks 2006:4-18)

Here, then, multicultural education includes, but goes much further than the familiar domain of simple content integration, which calls for nothing more than representation of diverse cultures or groups in the curriculum. This article has shown how representation for the sake of representation is paternalistic at best, and reductionist and essentialist at worst. Notice that Banks defines content integration as a *process domain*: it is not an exhortation to bring as many different genres and perspectives of music into the classroom as possible, but rather a charge that the teacher consider the ways in which divergent viewpoints, histories, and musics will illuminate and amplify musical and social well-being, what Dewey broadly refers to as experience. At the same time, a teacher must be aware that students bring their own, often isolated, frameworks to what may be diverse material: exposure to another culture’s music will not in and of itself challenge a person’s assumptions about that culture or prevent potentially harmful judgments. A constructivist teaching approach, in which students are able to articulate these perspectives, evaluate them, and challenge each other’s, is imperative here. One way to think about the second and third process domains is that the second focuses on a community’s responses to the class content at an epistemological level, and the third at the level of affect, care, and responsibility. The third domain of “prejudice reduction” suggests that through careful use of such teaching methods such as heterogeneous grouping, teamwork, and immersion activities, students may move beyond simple awareness of their own frameworks, and begin to develop attitudes that support diverse engagement.

The final two process domains are perhaps more familiar to Nordic discourses around education, as they address the responsibility all teachers have to further equity through public schooling, though this framework calls for particular attentiveness to group differences. The fourth, then, emphasizes differentiation of teaching strategies as a means to ensure that all students gain the academic achievement needed for societal mobility. Different students, and different groups of students, bring different ways of learning into the classroom and deserve teachers that are open to finding the ways each student learns best. Finally, Banks reminds us of the responsibility all teachers have to the entire school community. In their isolation, music teachers too often focus simply on their classroom spaces, yet the particular and musical ways they come to know students make it imperative that they take part in the work of transforming schools at a larger level with and on behalf of their students.

In this sense, Banks reconstructs the ideal of equity with simultaneous attention to the ideal of diversity. Equity to him cannot mean melting-pot-assimilation, though

the necessity of educating for a civic life requires a coming together around common traditions (cf. Banks 2004). One way of thinking through the “make-everyone-the-same melting-pot-assimilation” stance is to contrast it with the kind of mutual reciprocity that respects difference while being open to what is new, to what is “native,” and to what comes from “afar.” This is deliberate border work, a process that eschews multicultural tourism in favor of the kind of inward and outward growth that comes from genuinely hearing another. Returning to an earlier theme, open and honest reciprocity, in contrast to the hegemony of representational kitsch or representational tourism, requires reconciliation and pain, whereas the latter does not. The ideal citizen, we might say, is able to work across those boundaries – understood here as habits, customs, histories, and traditions – not in spite of difference and difficulty, but *because* of difference and difficulty. In effect, this reconstructed idea of assimilation-as-reciprocity becomes an education in civic morality as a community deepens important values like empathy, care, responsibility, and respect.

Keeping this final ideal of citizenship in mind, we are now in a position to return to the question we started with: *what is musical citizenship?* Why speak of citizenship in terms of music and music education at all? I suggested in my introduction that music is tied to communal culture, that it is felt in deeply personal ways, and that it carries some capacity to separate and bring together. Because of this, demonstrating a kind of citizenship in one’s interaction with music is unavoidable: we do it every day as human beings. The ways we value music and position ourselves to new music, are enactments of citizenship and at the hands of an educator may lead to broader, richer, and freer interactions among diverse persons across diverse landscapes.

Musical citizenship begins, I think, with a sense of history and location, coupled with consciousness I have called the mindset of an “outsider.” It is a reflective stance on my own traditions, and a willingness to question their values and purposes, particularly in relation to my students. As active engagement, musical citizenship further requires that teachers conceptualize these traditions as living and evolving, capable of being transformed in the classroom through the active participation of our students and our selves within them. Through that participation, we come to understand and further these traditions, which are often integral to the communities in which we are a part and to which we are responsible. Simultaneously, we place these traditions in dialogue with others through our own explorations (cf. Hansen 2008). Finally, as Banks reminds us, the choice of traditions and the ways we inhabit them are non-neutral: if diversity and equity are recognized together as aims, music teachers must respond both proactively and purposefully to the increasing diversity of their classrooms.

What is at stake? The pressure to negotiate a new kind of citizenship is impossible to avoid: neither the insular nationalism of the past century nor the neoliberal language of economic globalization is acceptable. Unique musical cultures are undergoing great upheaval, some experiencing eradication – the unintended consequence of political and

social forces – while others seem to replicate themselves effortlessly and without human agency. The competition over whose values and voices will be heard seems to overshadow another, more subtle question: what ways of interacting in this world are most *just*? It is to the idea of justice that citizenship applies—a way of interacting and negotiating ethically through the world. It is to this ideal, indeed, that we hold our public schools.

Even as we consider the meaning of musical citizenship and the role teachers play in shaping it through and within the public sphere, we need also consider that in all likelihood this conceptualization is nothing more a than liberal folly, the last gasp of a progressive fool. The unqualified dominance of the quantifiable at the expense of everything that numbers can't quite capture leaves me with decreasing hope that a notion of citizenship, musical or otherwise, can emerge from an increasingly barren educational landscape. Why are the great problems of the world always measured in economic terms? – never civic, and rarely moral? Why is growth measured in terms that are fiscal? – and not personal, or communal? Citizenship cannot be captured in PISA scores, because . . . well, because PISA measures what the international community believes it is important to measure. We could measure care, responsibility, trust, participation, and moral growth – it wouldn't be easy – but we don't even try.

An engagement with pluralism points to values that supersede those captured by PISA scores or any other national accountability measurement. But countries, communities, schools interested in high PISA scores cannot escape or bypass the facts of pluralism. They are implicated, whether they have the language to speak about it or not, in the competing and conflicting values which have framed this discussion. But pluralism points in two directions: one toward citizenship where communities engage publically in a constant remaking; the other toward fragmentation and privatization where communities with power freeze idealized versions of themselves and communities without power define themselves against the norm, or apart on their own terms (Bishop 2008). I take seriously this idea of making and remaking. As teachers we are more comfortable making and remaking others than being open to letting others make and remake ourselves. And borrowing from the language of economics, the process is not a zero sum gain. We don't come out even. We come out changed, for better or for worse. So here is how I leave our discussion on citizenship, public schooling, and music – with the bittersweet existential state that Maxine Greene (1978) calls wide-awakeness: aware that citizenship is a plurality, not a singularity. I am with you, a historical and difficult people, and you are with me, a historical and difficult person; and together we are citizens committed to the vitality and richness that comes from mutual exchange.

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Note

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